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606 in-law may refer to her son-in-law as 'the father of So-and-so', and sometimes, even before the child is born, a name will be given to it for this purpose, which is changed at birth if the sex turns out to be wrong.

[888] This taboo ceases to operate when the wife's mother is very old. She may then go and live with her daughter and her *waris*, and be looked after by both of them. Sometimes the taboo is lifted when there are several children. One of the native Mission teachers told me that he did it when his first child was born, because it would not do for him to hold too closely to the old customs. But usually three or more children are born before the [784] taboo is removed. This is done by a small ceremony. The man makes ceremonial pudding, takes a piece of it, and also a piece of areca-nut, breaks both into two, eats one part himself and gives the other part to his *waris*, who also eats. If a number of children have been born but have all died in infancy, the taboo may still be broken in this way.

[689] If a man inadvertently sees his *waris* he must expiate the offence by paying a string of *imun* to her through his wife. When I asked what would happen if a man and his *waris* were caught looking at one another on purpose, the assembled company was—or professed to be—extremely shocked and protested that such a thing could not happen. I surmise that the face-saving scheme above-mentioned saves the situation in such a case.

606 At Petats I was told that the taboo cannot be lifted during the
184 lifetime of the mother-in-law, but when she dies her son-in-law
lifts the lid of the coffin and looks at her face, and throws a fathom
764 of shell currency (*beroan*) into the coffin. This is supposed to be buried with her, but sometimes her own relatives take it out and keep it. If the son-in-law omits to do this there is gossip, and it is said that he is not sorry about the death of his *waris*.

13. *Ruanbĕ-* (term used reciprocally).

601 This term is used by a woman to and of her husband's actual parents, and also to and of any one who stands to her husband in the relation of *tama-* or *tʃina-* or *tsoa-*. Reciprocally, it is applied by both males and females to their son's wife, and also to the wives of all the men they call *bai'i*, and by a man to the wife of any man he calls *pasunĕ*, e.g. to the wife of his sister's son.

606 No restrictions are observed between *ruanbĕ-*, even where the
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his own to worry about, did not take much notice of her, in spite of her shy efforts to tend and please him. It was obvious that she was lonely and unhappy, although Kakari's mother, Matēv, was kind to her, and encouraged her to take her share in the life of the village. Before I left she had begun to settle down better, and the two of them might be seen going about together, but Kakari never seemed to appreciate her, though she was acknowledged to be an attractive girl.

LATER MARRIED LIFE

How much affection eventually grows up between the young husband and his still younger wife, it is difficult to say. Etiquette forbids any show of affection in public, and in such personal matters one is obliged, obviously, to rely largely upon inference. So far as my observation goes, it seemed to me that the younger men were often neglectful of their wives. This may in part have been due to shyness, but in more than one case known to me the youth was certainly carrying on an intrigue with another man's wife a couple of months or so after the consummation of his own marriage. Judging from external appearance, the early years of a young couple's life together seem, in many cases, to be difficult and perhaps unhappy. But man and wife eventually become accustomed to each other and settle down, especially when there are children, for the most part amicably enough. In later married life I noticed that deference was shown to a man's first wife, to whom he had been betrothed in childhood, beyond that bestowed upon subsequent wives, and if she were dead she was referred to in terms implying affection, at least this seemed to be the case with some of the men whose marriages came under discussion in the course of taking their genealogies. It was more difficult to get the women to talk about their husbands. Some old widows looked back upon their married lives with anything but pleasure, but in other cases there was evidence of real affection, an outstanding example being that of the widow, a middle-aged woman still not unattractive, who begged that her husband might be buried in the house, and who was determined not to marry again because she had cared so much for him. This attitude was perfectly comprehensible to the village, and was said not to be unusual.

On the whole, I incline to think that a census of happy, unhappy, and tolerable marriages among these people would reveal about the

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p. 390), that in use on Buka and Bougainville is, according to all my informants, obtained from New Britain and New Ireland, and especially from Manus in the Admiralty Islands. They made no mention of any from elsewhere, except that I was told that there was one man living on a small island off the west coast of Buka who knew how to make it. I was not able to verify this. It is called *beroan*, the same term being employed in all dialects with which I have any acquaintance. Three varieties are seen. The most common are either white or purplish (see Pl. 67, 2*a*, 2*b*). A third consists of rather larger disks of a brownish colour, and is distinguished from the other two by name, *kulin*, in the Petats dialect. The disks are strung on native fibre string, small black rings of some vegetable substance being sometimes incorporated in the string at irregular intervals. So far as I could ascertain, this is done merely for the sake of its appearance, and not to mark lengths or values. The unit of length is the fathom (about 6 feet). A single string is considered to be the equivalent of 5*s*. The Bougainville natives say that they did not fix this value themselves, but took it over from the people of New Britain and Manus with the strings themselves. I found it quite impossible to elicit any information as to how long the use of this shell currency had been known in Bougainville, or how it first came to be associated with a value in terms of shillings.

Beroan is not used in the ordinary exchanges which have been described in the foregoing pages, but is given in payment for certain things only. It is also used for personal ornament, being worn round the waist or slung across the shoulders of adults or children for ceremonial dances and on other special occasions. Larger shells with dogs' teeth inside are sometimes attached to short strings of *beroan* which are then used as rattles, either to amuse infants or as an accompaniment to a dance.

Some uses of *beroan* (other than for personal adornment) which came under my notice are listed below:

1. Several fathoms change hands in the course of the transactions connected with marriage.
2. As compensation for theft, in return for release of culprits.
3. As part payment for pigs.
4. As payment for carving *kaisa* figure.
5. As payment for being taught certain kinds of magic.
6. Thrown into coffin of *waris* as sign of grief.

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or even made especially, to be used as a medium of exchange is only doubtfully represented, since tobacco is smoked, and the strings of shell disks function also as ornaments. The strings of teeth may perhaps approximate to it, since they are made to serve as valuables and are worn only very exceptionally for ceremonial purposes. But they are not quite typical of the 'money' stage, because they have a ceremonial significance, and are reserved for use on certain specified occasions, and because some are regarded as heirlooms and would on no account be parted with by their owners. The recent introduction of English and Australian shillings by white planters and traders brings the area to the fourth stage, the use of coin, i.e. a medium of exchange authorized by the Government with a fixed value. This will probably spread till it has superseded the others, except perhaps the use of stick tobacco.

RECOMPENSE FOR SERVICES RENDERED

A man's friends will help him with a task which is more than he can compass alone, e.g. the building of a house or a canoe. Such services are voluntarily given, and are never withheld when asked for. But it is expected that the recipient will, in his turn, help those who have given their services when they are in similar need. As a rule, he will make a small feast to mark the completion of the work, at which all who have assisted him are presented with ceremonial pudding and taro (but not pig unless the occasion is a very special one). One such feast, for the completion of a *mon*, is described on p. 379. The canoe remains the personal property of the man who initiated its building. When it is taken out for bonito fishing, it is recognized that he has the first claim on the catch, and if only one fish is hooked it belongs to him. If there are several, he shares them with the men who went out with him; a large catch is distributed among the people of the village.

Women who attend at the funerary rites of a dead person to perform the ritual weeping are provided with food, both to eat at the time and to take back home with them. On one occasion some women from Kurtatchi went to the funeral of a child at Tabut; it was the second child that had died in the same family within a few days, and they said they went because they were sorry for the parents. Among them were the relatives of a lad who is betrothed to the sister of the dead children. They were presented with pots when they left. But it was explained to me that the pots were given

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because the Tabut people were sorry for the *ruanbē* (husband's parents) of Moras, the sister of the dead boys, and were not reward for the ritual weeping. Parties of women sometimes go to watch by a sick person; they will be given areca-nut and coco-nuts, some of which they will eat as they sit there; what remains will be carried home when they leave.

When guests are invited from distant villages to attend a ceremony it is customary to provide spreads of food, placed on platforms at intervals in the bush along the route, with which they can refresh themselves during the journey (*taran in a ken* means to prepare a spread of this kind). When we walked to the hill country to attend the *wapi* ceremony we came to three such places of refreshment. They took the form of a platform made of boughs, on which was placed a number of baskets made of coco-nut palm leaves plaited containing pieces of roast pig and boiled taros; others filled with the eggs of the megapode, almost ready to hatch, cooked and done up in leaves. There were also large packets of ceremonial pudding. Huge bunches of areca-nuts, yellow and green, hung from the posts of the platform, together with bundles of betel-pepper. Guests were supposed to provide their own lime. All along the edge of the platform were hung rows of coco-nuts. The effect was most lavish. We were also plentifully supplied with similar food at the ceremony itself, consuming it in the intervals of waiting. Such displays are not entirely prompted by generosity, or even the desire to make a show, since it is the custom, when guests think that the food provided for them is inadequate, to take revenge by wrecking their hosts' plantations, breaking down their coco-nut and areca palms, and spearing their pigs. It is said that in the olden days the angry guests even went so far as to burn the village and kill many of the inhabitants, including women and children. But, on the other hand, ostentatious display of wealth by single individuals is avoided for fear of 'poison'. They say that if a man prepares a very lavish feast, all the men who know how to make poison say: 'This fellow has made a big feast, we must kill him.' 'They are angry with the man who has done so well at getting food and so they make him die with their bad medicine.'

GIFTS

People are entitled to ask for areca-nuts, coco-nuts, &c., from those who stand to them in the relation of *kiar* (sibling of the same

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household pets, and calls them by name.[1] They roam about the village or the bush at will, but come morning and evening to their owner's hut to be fed when called. I have frequently seen women and children caressing them, but do not know of any case in which they have been suckled by women, though this may quite possibly occur, as reported from other areas. Village pigs have their ears slit as a mark of identification, and the males are castrated, which is regarded as a means of identifying them when they are caught in the nets meant for wild pigs, though the reason given for carrying out this operation is that they will not be so wild and so likely to run away. (See further discussion of this question in Chapter III.) No attempt is made to breed, but the females have plenty of opportunity of foregathering with bush pigs, so that the supply is maintained in spite of this custom. The litter belongs to the person who owns the mother. Sometimes young pigs are taken over to Baniu to be cared for there, because 'the ground is better for them' there than at Kurtatchi. In this case, when the sow farrows, the Baniu people are given a piglet for their trouble.

On the occasion of a major feast, pigs are contributed by each person concerned in any respect, according to his ability, assessed by the *tsunaun*. Some months before the *watawutʃ* ceremony was due to be held, Pinari went round to some of the villages whose boys were to take part in it, leaving at every house a short length of bamboo; this was an indication that such a house was to provide a pig for the associated feast, the family would then set aside a certain pig for that purpose.

The pigs belonging to a person of rank are killed at his death to provide food for the people who come to wail.

Wild pigs killed in the bush are the property of the huntsman. If a concerted drive is made with nets, the pigs caught belong to

[1] Some pigs are named after the place they came from, or the person from whom they were obtained. Some are given names reminiscent of events which happened at the time they were born, e.g. 'Kwigin', for a pig born when the *upi* boys were being given food by the *kwigin* (older men) in the bush, prior to the *watawutʃ* ceremony. Some contain a sly allusion to somebody's personal idiosyncrasy: 'Guruakiu', 'Sleeps over his work'; 'Muwapuin', 'Eats herself and gives none away'. Other names refer to a physical peculiarity of the pig: 'Pipipispan', 'One ear cut, one ear not cut'. Not infrequently there is a dig at the white man. One pig was called by the name of a planter whom the natives much disliked, this was intended as an insult. Another was called 'Whiteman'. On inquiring the reason for this, I was told: 'The white people give their pigs names of our people, so we called our pig "Whiteman".'

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ences. Since there seem to be certain local differences, apart from the modifications introduced as a result of white contact, the information collected from Petats and villages on the island of Buka will be presented separately from that obtained from Bougainville.

INFORMATION CONCERNING DEATH OBTAINED AT PETATS, W. BUKA

Funerary Rites

Before the coming of the white man, the dead were thrown into the sea. Stones were fixed on to the body to make it sink; it was then taken a long way out to sea in a canoe and thrown in. This practice ceased before the coming of the mission; it was said to have been given up because the planters objected to it on the ground that the bodies floated ashore. Bodies were then buried. Before burial they were kept in the house for two nights during which ritual wailing (*tĕp*) went on. The missionaries have taught them to bury as soon as possible for sanitary reasons. Mr. Cropp, of the Methodist Mission, told me that they will, if left to themselves, bury much closer to their habitations than is at all desirable. A boy once died at the Mission during his absence, and he found that they had buried the body within 50 yards of the cookhouse. It is possible that this practice originated in a desire to protect the grave from those who might attempt to carry out the custom called *babanam*, to insult a corpse by trying to dig it up. This must be done within a week of burial. Mr. Cropp told me that about two years earlier (i.e. about 1927) a man of importance had died at Novar, a village on the southern end of the island of Buka. A watch was set over his grave, and after two or three days a man, dressed in leaves, came from the bush uttering weird cries, and began scratching at the grave. The watchers tried to catch him, but his body was greased all over with pigs' fat, and he got away. The children play at *babanam*; they cover one of their number with grass and leaves and two watch hidden somewhere near by, while another comes stealthily up and uncovers the body.

During my three months' residence at Petats only one death occurred, that of a middle-aged man who had been ill for some time. He had not been an adherent of the Mission, so Mr. Cropp, whose policy it is not to introduce changes till the natives themselves desire them, remained away from the island while the funeral was

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in progress. All that took place, therefore, was done on the initiative of the natives themselves, influenced by what they had learned from the mission. It is perhaps worth while to include an account of this funeral, as it represents a transition period in the conflict between the old ways and the new.

A Funeral at Petats

Tsirisia died in the night of November 7, 1929. His death was not unexpected, and on one occasion as long ago as October 4, when he had lost consciousness, ritual wailing had actually been started for him. His son and a clansman were with him when he died. Wailing began immediately, and lasted for about an hour, then ceased, to begin again at dawn. It is a most mournful and eerie sound, which those who have once heard it will never forget.

Next morning his son and two neighbours began at once to make the coffin. They utilized an old canoe, by cutting off the two ends, and cutting the middle in half lengthwise. The two halves they nailed to cross-pieces, to give the coffin the necessary width at its upper end, and put in a piece of wood neatly shaped to fit. They said the canoe was used because it was handy, to save labour.[1] After washing it in the sea they lined it with crushed leaves and left it to dry.

Meanwhile the women were wailing inside Tsirisia's house. The widow was sitting at the foot of the body, which had been laid on a sleeping-mat on one of the sitting-platforms inside the house. It was then shaved and washed. The wailing ceased during the process of shaving, but towards the end of it the widow started again and continued alone for a time. During the washing the others joined in again. The body was carefully dried, a black loin-cloth was put round it and fixed with a piece of red cloth, another loin-cloth was laid over it, and a white one on the top. The coffin was brought and placed beside the body, which was lifted into it amid increased wailing. Men and women crowded round and looked in, resting their arms on the edge and all wailing. Tears were dropping freely from their eyes and mucus from their noses. A crowd of children stood just outside, some crying from sheer fright. The widow looked up and waved them away.

[1] It is possible that this explanation may have been a—perhaps unconscious—rationalization, and that the use of the canoe may bear some reference to the former custom of burying at sea. I did not meet with any other instance of it.

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After this had gone on for about a quarter of an hour the coffin lid was put on but not fastened. Then it was carried to the 'men's house' belonging to the hamlet in which the dead man's house stood, and set on the front platform. There was renewed wailing both by men and women. After a few minutes the coffin was lifted again and taken to the 'men's house' at another hamlet. There was more wailing, which lasted till about noon, then all the people went away to eat in their own houses, leaving a man on guard beside the body. He told me that in the olden days there would have been a pig killed at this stage in the proceedings, to be eaten in public, but that had been given up. After about half an hour the widow came back and started wailing; others soon joined her. The women throw their bodies about and work their feet and shoulders in jerks. Some words were occasionally distinguishable amid the howls, chiefly '*Titi*'—the child's word for *tama*, father, used as a term of address. One man whose grief seemed particularly vociferous proved to be the son of the dead man's brother; he would therefore call the dead man 'father'. After this had continued for about half an hour the coffin was taken back to the dead man's house and put on the front verandah, to the accompaniment of more wailing. The lid was taken off and some taro was brought in a coco-nut-leaf basket. I could not see exactly what happened because the people were all pressing round, but I heard some one make what seemed to be a formal speech, and I was told afterwards that the taro was shown to the dead man, his name was called, and the names of some of his clansmen who had died previously (*amat* in the Petats dialect, corresponding to *urar* in the Kurtatchi dialect) were also called, and they were told: 'This man is coming to you, see that you give him some of your taro.'

There were renewed wails and several of the mourners threw themselves across the coffin. One girl continually crying '*Titi*' had to be dragged off the coffin when it was finally taken to the burial ground, but shortly after she was talking and laughing with the other girls of the village. She was not his daughter, but the child of another brother; his own children were not nearly so much in evidence during the mourning.

The grave had been dug previously; I was told that the near kin of the deceased usually dig it, but if they do not wish to do so they may delegate the duty to others who are paid with a loin-cloth or something of equivalent value (about 2*s.* in our money).

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764 The coffin was carried to the burial ground by eight men, relatives of the dead man and neighbours, supported on their upraised arms, not on their shoulders. The lid was fastened down with rope at the side of the grave, into which the coffin was lowered with ropes and flexible canes. A few people threw earth into it—they must, I suppose, have seen the missionary do this—the women then went away, and the men finished the filling in, planting cordylines at the head and foot and at the sides, to mark the spot.[1] Then the men, after washing, went to the dead man's house and ate taro and yams. They put a dab of lime on their temples at each side. Anybody may take part in this meal, not only the kinsmen. This concluded the funeral. I was told that in the olden times there would have been a special dance, but this was not done any more.

765 574 On December 19, i.e. about six weeks after the death, Tsirisia's son gave a ceremonial meal. This feast, to which I was specially invited, consisted chiefly of ceremonial pudding and taro; the place of pig was taken by tins of meat which they can buy at a store on a neighbouring island. I was given a place of honour on the front verandah of the 'men's house', where the older men were sitting. The younger men were grouped in front of a house opposite. The women were all inside the house in which the man had died. One of the men said grace and all the people said Amen. Then the dishes (made of spathes of areca-palm) of ceremonial pudding were given out. One was handed to me, a large one was sent in to the women, and another to the younger men congregated opposite. One was taken to an old man who was too feeble to attend. We sat round eating and talking for some time, and then one by one the men drifted off, some taking part of the funeral feast with them for consumption at home.

Regulations for the relatives

765 178 The widow and the mother of the dead man were obliged to stay near the house until the feast just described, i.e. for about six weeks. This was a modification of the old custom, according to which they would have had to spend this time in seclusion inside it. After the feast they were at liberty to resume their normal activities.

On the present occasion the mother, a very old woman, had her

[1] This was the reason given, but the use of cordylines would appear to be traditional, since these plants are connected with death, as well as having other ritual significance, in the old belief.

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While visiting other villages on Buka I obtained a little information bearing on the subject of death and funerary rites. Under the circumstances, my informants were naturally men with whom I was not well acquainted, and whose reliability I had no opportunity of checking. The details, however, are consistent, and the information, slight though it is, may perhaps be worth giving as corroborative evidence. It is transcribed from the pidgin-English record in my note-books, as the dialect of these villages differs sufficiently from those with which I am acquainted to make it necessary to fall back upon the lingua franca.

NOTES ON DEATH FROM THE VILLAGE OF LEMANMANU, LONTIS COAST, W. BUKA

When a man dies his relatives must not eat taro for ten days. They may eat bananas, coco-nut, and yams. The women stay in the house and weep. In the olden days the body of a person of rank was kept for two months in the house, and was then taken out to sea in a canoe and thrown into the sea. They said it was no good to bury him because some one might come and dig him up.[1] Commoners could be buried. Sometimes a man was buried in the house and after a long time his bones were taken up and thrown into the sea. His pillow and other belongings were burnt on the fire which cooked the pigs for the feast.

NOTES ON DEATH FROM THE VILLAGE OF HANAHAN, E. BUKA

When a man dies, for ten days his relatives may not eat anything but bananas, yams, and coco-nuts. They must not touch taro, or pig, or opossum, or fish. At the end of the ten days they may make a fire and burn some taro, pig, fish, and opossum; then they may eat these things. For a person of rank, the whole village keeps this taboo for two months. They wash the body, put red ochre mixed with coco-nut oil on the hair, and outline the forehead with white. In times past they threw the body into the sea, but now they bury it. Loin-cloths and other things belonging to the dead man are put in the coffin. In times past these things were kept in the house until such time as a feast was made, then they were burnt. The relatives change their names.

[1] This apparently is a reference to the custom called in the Petats dialect *kaburum* (see p. 487).

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INFORMATION OBTAINED AT THE VILLAGE OF KURTATCHI, N. BOUGAINVILLE

764 797 As previously explained, this village is under the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic Mission, and has a resident mission teacher, a native of another village. He took up residence only a few weeks before my arrival, but teaching had been going on for some time and I found that the funeral arrangements, except for the customary wailing, were conducted entirely according to the ritual of the Roman Catholic Church. The only exception was that Maravin, an old man who had been hostile to the mission, was buried with no ceremony whatever. The native mission teacher would not conduct a Christian service over him because he had not been baptized, and the natives were afraid to perform their own rites for fear of incurring the displeasure of the priest. But the village went in terror of his *urar* for many a day, in consequence of the omission.

764 177 I did not, therefore, witness the ritual about to be described, but the change was recent enough for a clear memory of what formerly took place to remain in the minds of my informants. Although they appeared to welcome the new teaching, being of the opinion that the practices of the white man were, *ipso facto*, superior to their own, it seemed to me that the change had been one in outward form only, and that they retained their own beliefs concerning death and the future life side by side with as much as they understood of the ideas implanted by the mission teacher, in happy unconsciousness of any incongruity.

764 The following description of the old funerary rites was given me by Matarɛ̄, my most intelligent and reliable informant. Other men were standing by listening as he talked, and occasionally chimed in to corroborate or to suggest some detail which he had omitted. Accounts received on other occasions tallied with this in all essentials, and it may, I think, be accepted as a reasonably accurate description of ceremonies that will never be performed again.

Funerary rites

[565] When a person of *tsunaun* lineage dies all the people wail. They make a stretcher (*pōpōa*) to carry him on. In the olden days they took the man on the stretcher far out to sea in a canoe and, having tied his feet together with creepers, they fixed stones to the body, threw

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it in, and threw the stretcher in after him. Sometimes the stretcher was brought back and kept till it rotted. When the white men came and the natives saw that they buried their dead, they began to do so too. Matarē (a man aged probably somewhere round thirty) said the dead were still thrown into the sea when he was fully grown. If a man died without relatives they just put a rope round him, but otherwise his relatives made the stretcher and carried him carefully.

As soon as a person dies a fire is made inside the house in which he died, lime is sprinkled all round it, and the people present 'pretend to fight' the lime (i.e. flip their fingers at it, as shown by gestures). They all put lime on their ears. This is done for commoners as well as for *tsunaun*.

The body of a *tsunaun* is put up under the roof of the house; a rough platform consisting of two planks is made, and the body laid on it. All the people wail. No one is allowed to touch it or to look at it. It remains there five or six days and nights.[1] Pig and taro are provided for the people from other villages who come to wail (the ritual wailing, *wa'ūr*). They do not all wail all the time, some keep it up while others go off and eat. The near relatives do not touch this food. The pigs provided belong to the dead man and to his relatives. Other people may help provide pigs if they wish, even if they are not immediately concerned. (Matarē said he helped his wife's father, Pinari, when Pinari's brother died, though he was under no obligation to do so.)

The women and girls go to the bush at dead of night (a most unusual proceeding) and fetch coco-nuts and areca-nut and betel-pepper. They take with them axes and knives, but they must not take fire or torches (again a direct departure from ordinary procedure). The men stay in the village. The women come back while it is still dark and put the things they have brought on the verandahs of the dead man's house, some at the front and some at the back.

The women do a special dance which is not used on any other occasion. (This was demonstrated, it was a sort of hop with both feet together, and both hands behind the back.) The conch-shells

[1] No specific means taken to preserve the body were mentioned, but up on its platform it would be exposed to the smoke of any fire burning in the hut. It was not stated whether the fire previously mentioned was kept burning all the time or not.

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764 535 [533] are sounded and the slit-gong beaten to give the time to the dancers The rhythm goes like this:

/////../../../////../../../..

The dance is kept up till dawn breaks.[1]

764 [415 824] During the time when the body is up on the platform, a *kun* (kind of tray made of *tolas*, a very hard wood, used for cracking almonds upon) is set up in the village, and people shoot at it with bows and arrows, and throw spears, which break on it because the wood is so hard.

Coco-nuts, drinking and dry, and taro and sugar-cane from the gardens belonging to the dead man and his relatives, and other people, too, if they wish, are heaped up at the front verandah of his house. Taro with the stalks still attached is hung up in front of the house, under the eaves. A tall tree is set up in the middle of the heap of coco-nuts, and strings of ceremonial currency (*imun* and *beroan*) belonging to the dead man and his relatives are hung up on it. Some strings are also fastened on his wrists and ankles. These latter can be taken by any one who wishes, if he puts other strings in their places. Those substituted need not be so valuable as those removed. The strings on the tree are afterwards brought back into the house and remain there.

As long as the body remains in the house the widow can eat only one taro a day. She may not chew the ordinary betel-mixture, but can chew two kinds of wild areca-nut, *kiy* and *kawiwi*. All those who touched the man after he was dead may not eat anything,[2] but they may chew the betel-mixture. If this prohibition is not kept the body will stink quickly.

When the time comes for burial the body is carried out by the male relatives. They walk round the heaps of coco-nuts and taro, then they bury him in the graveyard. Axes, knives, spears, and paint are put into the grave with him. In the olden days these were

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[1] This dance was performed on the last occasion of the death of a person of *tsumaun* lineage, but as the dead are now buried by the mission teacher, Matarō said it would never be performed again. Both he and his audience were very dramatic in their description of the dance, and seemed to regret it more than any other part of the funerary ritual.

[2] Questioning made it clear that this prohibition was intended to apply to the whole of the time (five or six days) that the body remained in the house, but it would not be literally adhered to; a little taro would be eaten unofficially ('stolen' is the exact translation of the word used) just as in the case of the girl secluded during her first menstruation (see p. 253).

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thrown into the sea with the body. But his pillow remains behind in the house; a special feast is made for it at a later time, perhaps two or three years after, when it is burnt, with spears and other things, and pig is cooked on the fire. The widow stays in the house while the man is being buried, together with the young girls. The men and the old women of the village go to the graveyard. The widow continues to wail all that day, after the others have ceased. She must not eat till her husband 'is gone out of her sight'.

If the wife was very fond of her husband, she may request that his body be buried in the house. Sometimes the body is kept thus for a time and then the bones are taken up and buried in the graveyard, sometimes it stays in the house where it was first buried.

After the burial, whether in the house or in the graveyard, the front verandah (*tagoan*, the men's side) is closed up with coco-nut leaves, and the bush is left to grow up round it. The man's wives, and his mother if she is alive, stop inside the house, and are looked after by the other women of the village. They put black paint (*tʃina*) on their bodies which they must smear all over. They cut their hair short when they first go into seclusion; it is left to grow while they are shut up.

While they remain in the house the women make special belts (*mɔ̃*) (see Pl. 75 and Chap. XI, p. 436) with an intricately woven pattern of several colours. If the deceased is a person of rank they must make enough belts for every man and woman of the village to wear. This sometimes takes as long as eight or ten months (for a commoner two or three months is enough). The women remain shut up all this time. The bush grows up round the house, so that it is scarcely seen, and the pigs defile the front verandah.

When enough belts have been made, a time is fixed for the women to come out. Then men clear a path to their taro gardens which have been looked after meanwhile by their friends. They put on more *tʃina*, but are not allowed to use *oin* (red paint). They put on the belts. The men take spears, and give each woman two arrows (*away*) set with bones of the flying fox. They come out holding these. They go round to the front of the house and break the fence of coco-nut leaves round the front verandah. This is done in the early morning. They go back to their own side of the house (*babots*), and stay a little while, then they go to the taro garden. They must plant some taro in a special corner of the garden (*wamib*). When they have finished they take off the belts,

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moved to join the neighbouring village of Kurtatchi, as explained in Chapter I. Wako's house was left in its old position; they said it could not be moved because Krapen's body was buried under it, and if the site was left uncovered some one would 'shoot' it, and his spirit would be angry. A new house was therefore built for Wakos at Kurtatchi. Krapen's pillow was also preserved in the house. All his pigs but one had been eaten at his funeral, the remaining one was to be cooked when his bones were taken up and buried in the graveyard. They said this would be done at some future time, to be decided by the deceased's mother's brother. But on my returning after a few day's absence at Petats for the purpose of removing my belongings to Kurtatchi, I found that the reburial had taken place in the interval. As I had been with these people for a very short time, it is not unlikely that they took advantage of my absence to carry out this delicate operation unembarrassed by the presence of a stranger, though they were tactful enough to explain to me that it had been decided upon hastily to facilitate the rebuilding of the village in its new position! His pillow was stored carefully away in the house after its removal to Kurtatchi, and still remained there at the time of my departure nine months later. Three other pillows were also awaiting disposal. They had to remain where they were for a long time; finally a great feast was to be held for all of them at once, after which they would be burnt. The last remaining one of Krapen's pigs had been kept for this feast, to be cooked at the fire on which his pillow was burnt.

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Further details concerning funerary rites

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The information presented in the following paragraphs was collected at various times from different informants in the course of discussion and conversation. Since the utmost care has always to be exercised in asking questions, the fact that the old customs have been given up, and that I had in consequence no opportunity of discussing them apropos of an actual funeral, must have resulted in the omission of many important details, and also made very difficult any attempt to ascertain what significance was attached by the natives to the different portions of the funerary ritual.

The body, when buried, seems always to have been placed in the extended position. No special orientation seems to have been given to the grave, for in all the graveyards I visited no attempt

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764 had been made at uniformity of arrangement, each grave seemed to have been dug at the choice of the persons digging. All were very much neglected and overgrown, but the new cemeteries which are now to be found in connexion with most villages where there is a resident mission teacher are kept tidy under his supervision. Graves in these new cemeteries are marked with roughly carved wooden crosses. Graves in the pagan graveyards were marked with cordyline plants, or, most often, not marked at all, though the relatives knew where they were and pointed them out to me. They [152] did not mind going there in daylight, but only very special circumstances would induce them to go after dark.

No distinction was made in the graves of women and children, and no special portion of the graveyard was assigned to them. [766] Children who die at birth or very shortly after are still buried in the house; for them there is no wailing. Otherwise, children are wailed for and buried in just the same manner as adults. Wailing is not confined to the village in which the person died. One evening the sound arose from a house near my own. Knowing of no death in the village, I made inquiries and was told that news had just been received of the death of Kiots, the sister of Marotē's mother, at Ieta. The wailing went on for a short time only, but next evening it was repeated; the reason then given was 'because Marotē and Pesē are sorry again about their "mother!".'

[762] Persons who die by suicide are, if their bodies can be recovered, wailed for and buried just like any other dead, and I did not learn that any special treatment was thought to be meted out to them in the after-world. Unfortunately, I omitted to ascertain what was thought to be the fate of persons whose bodies were not available for funerary rites.

CANNIBALISM

266 766 In the olden days, under certain circumstances, the bodies of the dead were eaten. The bones of such victims were afterwards buried without ceremony, with the exception of the jaw, which was cleaned and hung up in the 'men's house'.[1] There seemed to be no fear of the *urar* of such people returning to plague those who had eaten them.

266 721 Like many, probably most, of the groups who practise, or used

[1] The jaws of pigs eaten on ceremonial occasions are now substituted for human jaws.

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[775] know the man who made poison for you; when he comes here I will put him in the fire; I will go and look for him.' So Tosisiup lies in wait for the man who caused the death.

The dead man is taken by Magor and told to climb up an areca-palm. While he is up in the tree Magor cuts a hole in his buttocks and fastens a tail on to him, a long tail, just like a dog's. Then he takes a spear and pierces the man's eyes, presently they become just like fire. Then gradually, as his body decays, he becomes an *urar*. The change is not complete until his bones stink. After this he lives in the place belonging to Magor.

Everybody, when he dies, becomes an *urar*. When pigs and dogs[1] and fowls die, they also go to the place of Tosisiup and Magor. But they cannot talk, they just stay there.

One of the young men made a drawing to explain to me what the dead person looked like while he was undergoing the change into an *urar* (Fig. 29). He explained that the one on the right had only recently died and his body had not yet decayed. The claw-like things he said were the man's 'water' that had come down (possibly this may refer to the fluids exuded during decomposition). [764] The fourth, which is drawn as though sitting on the head of the third, is wearing the cocks' feathers with which the head of a dead person is sometimes adorned before burial.

Information obtained on the island of Tiop, NE. Bougainville

During a brief visit to the island of Tiop, at the extreme north-eastern corner of Bougainville, I obtained a little information from one of the old men, which is subjoined for the sake both of its similarities and of its differences.

The place of all the *orar* (= Kurtatchi *urar*) is called Tatau'ora. When a man dies he goes to it. It is near Mapiri, past Arigua (two places farther down the east coast). It is inside the thick bush, at a place where there is a hole where there is white paint (*kerewo*). The name of the hole is Namakerewo. When a man dies he goes first to Namakerewo and is painted with white paint. The men of Namakerewo go and catch some fish (*biri*) that are black, and have a strong smell. They put them in a pot and cook them, and take

[23] [766] [1] These are the only domestic animals known to the natives. Wild animals and birds were not mentioned in this connexion. When a favourite dog dies it is buried with loin-cloths and a feast is made for it. I knew of a dog, killed by a wild pig, for which this was done. But pigs are always eaten; even when they die of disease!

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Then all the *urar* cried. Night came. The *urar* who had caught her in the day came and pulled her back. They made her lie down. They put a hood over her, she was cold. She got up. She thought that the eyes of the *urar* were fire. She wanted to get some fire, she took the eyes of the *urar*. One *urar* got up very angry: 'Who has taken my eyes?' The woman said: 'I did, I am cold.' The *urar* said to the woman: 'These men are not fire, it is no good for you to take them.'

Then they all prepared food, they put paint on the woman, two kinds of paint on her head, red and black, and cock's feathers. All the *urar* made a *kōma*, they played the pipes, they all looked at her, they were glad about the woman. Some of the *urar* asked: 'Where did you get this woman you have brought?' They all played the pipes, they made the woman *kōma* with them, they hid her again in the house, they went and fetched taro stalks.

Dawn broke; then they made her sit down among the taro stalks, then they pierced her eyes, they changed her eyes entirely. Then they brought her to Tosisiup, the chief of them all. He asked her: 'What are you doing?' The woman said: 'I hid, and three of your men liked me, and they brought me here.' He asked her: 'What are the names of these three men?' 'No, I don't know their names.' Then the three men came up. They said: 'We brought her, she was angry.' Tosisiup said: 'All right, you send her along with me.' Then he took her away and cut her buttocks, he put a tail on her buttocks, then she became an *urar*.

Discussion

Since the funerary rites are somewhat complicated, a synopsis of the most important parts of them is given below in tabular form emphasizing the differences between the ceremonies as performed for *tunuan*, and those for commoners.

Tunuan	*Commoners*
At death.	***At death.***
Wailing by the whole village. Fire lighted in house and lime burnt. Body kept in house on planks under the roof for 5 or 6 days. Wailing kept up all this time, with the help of people from other villages, for whom pigs, &c., are provided.	Wailing by relatives only. Fire lighted and lime burnt. Kept in house for a day or two only, not placed under the roof. Only friends and relatives from other villages attend, if they wish.
Special dance by women at night.	No dance.

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Tsunaun	*Commoners*
On 6th or 7th day.	*After short interval.*
Body taken out to sea, weighted with stones and thrown in. (Burial substituted later.)	Might be thrown into sea, but was usually buried.
Seclusion of widow for 8 or 10 months. Belts made for all the people of the village.	Seclusion of widow for 2 or 3 months. Belts made for relatives only.
At end of period of seclusion.	*At end of period of seclusion.*
Ceremonial visit of widow to taro garden. Procession to house with spirit of dead man sitting on cordyline plant. Spirit remains in house. Certain restrictions on all the people of the village.	As for people of rank, but restrictions apply to relatives only.
Next day.	*Next day.*
Ceremonial visit to shore. End of seclusion for widow.	Ceremonial visit to shore. End of seclusion for widow.
Some time later (unspecified).	*Later.*
Final feast, removal of belts. Taboos finish.	Final feast, removal of belts. Taboos finish.
Some years later.	*Some years later.*
Burial of pillow, with important feast.	Burial of pillow, with feast.

It does not seem to have been the custom at any time to reserve sea-burial for persons of *tsunaun* lineage exclusively. It might also be accorded to commoners, who, however, seem to have been more usually buried in the ground. As far as I could learn, the choice rested with the relatives, sea-burial being regarded as the better method. My informants could give no reason for this; possibly one might suggest that, since digging a shallow hole (such as serves for a grave nowadays) is less trouble than paddling a canoe a long way out to sea, the choice in the case of a commoner depended upon the amount of trouble the relatives were prepared to take over the matter.

The difference between the treatment accorded to *tsunaun* and to commoners is one of degree rather than of kind. Shorter and simpler mourning, fewer mourners, less food, distinguish the

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funeral of a commoner. In essentials the two are identical. Consistently with this, I have no evidence that there is considered to be any difference in the treatment of the two classes in the after-world. Magor and Tosisiup are looked upon as the rulers of the land of the dead, but they are not connected in any way with the *tsunaun* of actual life, and among the *urar* under their jurisdiction there appears to be no distinction of persons.

Again, no stress seems to be laid on a distinction between the good and the bad, as regards either the character of their lives or the form of their deaths. I found nothing resembling the 'good' and 'bad' deaths which are reported from other areas. (Cf. Moss, 1925, p. 123, &c.) The only evidence of anything in the nature of an 'ethical' distinction is the remark attributed to Tosisiup that he would 'put in the fire' the men who made poison causing another man to die. The possibility of mission influence cannot be entirely excluded here, for though my informant was one of the older men, he was accustomed to attend the mission teacher's services, and the doctrine of punishment by fire seemed to make a special appeal to the natives, including the teacher concerned.[1]

The first part of the funerary rites seems to be directed towards keeping in touch with the spirit, the second part, from the time of the removal of the belts onwards, towards getting rid of it. The retention of the body as long as possible, the wearing of the belts, which must not have the dirt washed off them, the bringing home of the cordyline plant on which the spirit is supposed to be sitting, all point in the one direction. The removal and destruction of the belts, the lifting of all the taboos, and the fact that the widow is then free to marry again, all point in the other. There would appear to be some connexion between this difference in behaviour and the belief that the dead man takes some time to undergo the change into an *urar*. There seem to be some grounds for the suggestion that the solicitude of his relatives for him during this period may be intended to ease the transition. For example, he is provided with the food to which he is accustomed, because he has not yet learnt to eat the food of the *urar*.

Throughout the description of the funerary rites, the spirit of the dead person is never referred to as *urar*, but always as *abin*, a

[1] One of the women, who was my especial friend, was always urging me to come to the services, on the ground that, if I did not, when I died I would be 'put in the big fire'.

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775 word which is also used for a person's shadow, his reflection in water or in a mirror, and for that part of him which leaves his body while he sleeps (cf. p. 546). The distinction is clearly seen in a sentence from a story in my collection. A child is scalded and dies, whereupon *urar poa to warunon abin i bai'i to biom*, 'an *urar* heard the child's spirit crying'. Once the change is complete, he can fend for himself, and from being the object of sorrowful remembrance, he becomes, as an *urar*, both powerful and terrible. As regards the retention of his pillow for a much longer period, may it, perhaps, be due to a desire to make quite sure that he has really fully completed the change before the last link with him as a living person is removed from the house? I could not obtain from the natives any explanation of their treatment of the pillow, so that this is mere theorizing.[1]

764 775 It is clear that the rapid decay of the body is considered to be undesirable. The reason why those who touch it must refrain from food is that if they eat the body will 'stink quickly'. The reason given for piercing the nasal septum is that if this is done, when the person dies the worms will go through this hole instead of eating the body. It might be argued either that the preservation is desired for the purpose of keeping the dead in touch with the living,[2] or to ease his transformation into an *urar* by slowing it up, or, as my informants (possibly by a process of rationalization) appeared to think, to lessen the discomfort of the living, who had to watch by the body for the specified period in any case.

As regards the weapons, paint, and other things thrown into the sea with the body, or buried in its grave, I can offer no evidence either for or against the theory that they are intended for the dead man's use. It is true that the *urar* are represented as possessing and using such things, but no reference was made by any of my informants to a belief that the dead man was well or poorly provided for in the place of the *urar* according to the richness or otherwise of the property destroyed at his funeral. At Petats they definitely said that the man's house was destroyed so that his spirit should not return to it, which seems to be opposed to the beliefs and practices current on Bougainville. In the case of a *tsunaun* the

[1] The dead may, however, become *urar* with full powers before the disposal of the pillow takes place, because the pillow belonging to Pinari's mother, Buntagori, whom he named at the taro-planting ceremony, was still preserved in his sister's hut.

[2] Cf. C. H. Wedgwood, 1927, p. 387.

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pigs, taro, and coco-nuts belonging to the dead man are used to provide food for the mourners from other villages. It is understood that to provide inadequately would be a grave insult, but that is the case at any ceremony to which visitors come from a distance, and while the quantity required would be in proportion to the importance of the deceased, this is only because the number of mourners would be proportionately large. Neither the quantity nor the display are regarded as being of benefit to the dead man on his arrival at the place of the *urar*.

Relations between the urar *and the living*

One other aspect of the subject dealt with in this chapter remains to be discussed in connexion with the people of my own particular area, namely, the very definite part which the *urar* play in the life of the present-day natives. It will be clear from other portions of this book that they are never for long unmindful of the existence of the *urar* and that this influences in no small degree their daily thoughts and actions.

The *urar* are not necessarily maleficent. As has been shown in the account of taro-planting, hunting, and fishing, &c., part of the magical procedure connected with all of these consists of calling by name upon the *urar* of people who had been especially successful in these occupations during their lifetime.

But for the most part they are regarded with dread, as powerful enemies who will, if they can, do harm to the living and even cause death. It is largely this fear that makes every one so chary of being in the bush alone, especially at night. There are a number of preparations of roots and leaves which are to be chewed, or in some cases carried, by any one obliged to be out after dark, for the purpose of keeping the *urar* away. The same fear leads them to desert a village in which several people have died, even though they may only move a short distance.

An incident which took place at Kurtatchi after the death of Maravin is interesting both in this connexion and for its bearing on the belief that a dead man does not become an *urar* immediately. Being without female relatives, Maravin had shared his hut with some of the boys wearing the *upi*, their own *tobar* not having been moved from the old village. They slept in the hut the night of the day of which he died, apparently without qualms, but after about three weeks they began to be restless, and a few days later they ran

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me no information as to whether it had fallen or whether this was its original position.

These stones represent a man and his wife and their two children. The whole group goes by the name of Tohihiu. They are said to 'belong to' a man living in the village, who is of the Nakarib clan; he was described as their kinsman. When a child is born to a woman who is of his lineage the child's mother brings the baby to the place, a pig is killed and cut up, and the stones are washed with its blood. In the olden days it was customary on these occasions to make a raid into the mountains, bring home a prisoner from one of the mountain villages, eat him, and bring his head to the stones with the child: the head was then buried underneath the stones.[1] Then the women would collect quantities of taro 'belonging to the stones'; this would be eaten at the spot. It did not appear that the stones were themselves thought to eat any of it. Whenever a feast is due to be held to mark some epoch in the life of a child of the appropriate lineage, he is taken to the stones, and when the time comes for his skin to be cicatrized, that is done there also. Not very long before my visit a little boy had undergone this operation at the stones. When I examined them there were still traces upon them of the red paint with which they had been smeared on that occasion. (This is not necessarily to be regarded as a substitute for blood, as it is in itself a sacred substance which plays a part in many ceremonial activities, as described in previous chapters.)

Discussion

It was a matter of great concern to me that I could not get more information concerning these stone pillars. I am convinced that the ignorance professed by the natives was not assumed, and that they would have told me more details had they known any more themselves. The surprise of the Iltopan people when I laid bare the design on the stone 'A Pi' was most certainly genuine. It would seem as though the pillars had been set up in times past in connexion with some ritual that has been abandoned for so long that all memory of it has disappeared.

One of the missionaries told me that he understood from the

[1] A short time before my visit fragments of a human skull had been discovered in the vicinity of the stones during some digging in connexion with a new building for the Mission.

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natives that the stones had been put up in times long past as memorials to dead chiefs. No mention of anything of this sort was made to me in the course of extensive inquiries, and I have no means of estimating the reliability of the report thus passed on to me at second-hand. It may, however, be noted in this connexion that Fox (1924, p. 288) reports that on some of the burial mounds of San Cristoval there are stone pillars 2 or 3 feet high, the use of which is quite unknown. One, over 10 feet high, and about 6 inches in diameter, is described as 'evidently worked'. At one mound there are two stone pillars, one of which appears from the diagram given by Fox to be similar in shape to those on Buka. This stone was set up whenever a woman was buried in the mound; the other, of a different shape, was set up at the burials of men.

While not rejecting altogether the hypothesis that the stone pillars of Buka and North Bougainville may be memorials to the dead, one may perhaps be permitted to speculate a little as to other possibilities in regard to their origin and purpose.

It will be remembered that both the Petats and the Kurtatchi people, without previous knowledge of the patterns on the stones, associated these with the designs which they cut on their skin. While visiting Timputs I was told, in quite another connexion, of a stone called Mukikimits, near Kowanis, on the north-east corner of Bougainville, which is said to have marks on it like those cut on the skin, and also the imprint of a man's foot. The ceremony for the cicatrization of children is held at this stone. An unfortunate accident prevented me from visiting it, so I do not know whether it is another of the stone pillars or a natural formation. But the mention of the marks upon it seems to indicate human handiwork. The question now arises, whether the similarity between the designs on the stones and those made on the skin by means of cicatrices indicates that both may at one time have formed part of the same ritual complex.

The reasons given to me for the practice of cicatrization were (i) that it helped the children to grow, (ii) that it was considered beautiful and attractive to persons of the opposite sex, (iii) that it 'made the milk come up' in young women.

The next link in my argument is provided by the ritual connected with the stones at Tiop. There are several points of resemblance between this and the ceremonies attached to the stone called Mubenoits. Both stones have 'children'. In both a pig is

Burial Practices

Obviously, a person's death also gives rise to many festivities and ceremonies. In Buka and north Bougainville only two methods of burial are known: namely, ahärre kuerre or submerging the corpse at sea; and ha zërokere de akui or burying the corpse. During the burial a great meal (a känano a kapane) is provided by the survivors. The dance that is performed afterwards is called a kümar. These festivities in honor of the deceased are repeated from time to time. During the ceremony men and women paint themselves white. -- In south Bougainville in Shortland the method is similar, but here cremation is also known, which is called hanghäli in Shortland and kasivei in Bougainville. Cremation of the body is a mark of the aristocrat and probably a custom imported from the south. Less exalted people are buried (mös küsisai in Bougainville and nahonaha in Shortland) or submerged in the ocean (fanfäntup in Shortland and on the coast). No matter what sort of burial, great banquets are the rule at all of them; naturally the cremation of the aristocrats is carried out on a magnificent scale. The funereal pyre is erected in the village itself, usually rectangular and flanked at each corner by a high pole. This pole is frequently carved roughly in the shape of a human face at the upper end and painted black or red; but I also saw very simple poles with no painting or carving; the latter as well as the former were called kakalo. After the corpse is placed on the pyre, the pyre is lighted to the accompaniment of loud lamenting and howling. The burning never suffices to transform the body completely into ashes; the bone remains are carefully collected by the family and kept for several days in the hut of the deceased; during this period the lament rarely ceases, and it is especially the wives who develop a particular virtuosity in this respect. After this period the actual burial of the remains takes place. In the place where the corpse was burned, between the four kakalo, a pit is dug and an earthen jug is deposited in it; the remains of the corpse are placed in this jug and a second jug is inverted over it, serving as a lid for the first; then the pit is filled up with dirt. This procedure is called irinäfui in Shortland and nömokai in Bougainville. Simultaneously most of the relatives put on a big banquet (funfapassa in Shortland and käna mfnavai in Bougainville), whereby everything edible is served, with the exception of taro, which is forbidden on this occasion. The women put on mourning as before by covering their faces and the upper

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chest with a heavy layer of white paint. This material is a kind of soil that is found in certain areas of Bougainville and called mā (māso in Shortland); this soil, kept wrapped in leaves, until needed, is then pulverized and mixed with the juice of sugar cane so that a rather thick dough is formed. The men do not paint themselves. After a few months another great banquet (mōu in Bougainville and isāisa kavunoi in Shortland) is given in memory of the deceased; after this the women remove their white mourning paint, and thereby bring the whole death ceremony to an end. In some places the place of burial is fenced in with four boards that form an oblong rectangle and in part are carved and painted. Within this fence (called brotoko) all sorts of effects of the deceased are placed: strings of beads, bracelets and similar objects; also bright-flowering ornamental shrubs and flowers are planted on the spot.

Cremation is to be found on the east coast of Bougainville all the way up to the village of Toboroi; the practice does not seem to exist beyond that point; on the west side I found this custom in Siuai, but likewise no farther north than there.

766 [565]

Formerly it was the rule that a slave was killed at the death of an aristocrat. The custom may have declined somewhat in most recent times, but even today it is still [10] practiced in regions where the natives are not strongly influenced by the whites. I conclude this from the fact that, after I had sought enlightenment on this point from various people and had always received a negative answer, a boy of twelve gave me the desired information. He seemed to see nothing wrong in it and hence found no reason to keep it a secret. Even the older ones ceased to deny it when they saw that I knew about this custom. Normally only one slave is killed; the corpse is not eaten, but remains lying in the same spot until some friends bury it; if this does not happen, then it simply lies there until dogs, boars and decomposition have done their work.

Masks, Mask Customs and Related Matters

532 171

In Bougainville as well as in Buka and on the Nissan Group masks are used for certain festivities. The few masks that I got to see in Bougainville consisted of bent wooden boards that were painted black, and a protruding nose was carved on them; there were apertures for